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The Circulation of Artefacts Engraved with ‘*Apramāda*’ and Other Mottos in Southeast Asia and India: A Preliminary Report

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I present here a preliminary report on selected engraved or inscribed objects, most of them recently found in Southeast Asia. Foremost among them are those indited with the single word *aprāmāda*: ‘careful’, ‘heedful’, ‘aware’. *Apramāda* artefacts have had a long and not especially dramatic history in South and Southeast Asian archaeology. Two *aprāmāda* seals collected by Alexander Cunningham entered the British Museum by 1892, and at the beginning of the 1900s *aprāmāda* inscriptions were noted in the excavation reports for Sarnath and Kasia in northern India (both in modern UP). Several types of *aprāmāda* artefacts were recovered by Louis Malleret at the Mekong delta site of Oc-Eo in southern Vietnam over sixty years ago. Since then, artefacts bearing the word *aprāmāda* have been reported at other sites in India, and, most recently, in Thailand and Burma. It will be seen that a variety of objects were inscribed with the word *aprāmāda* – not only seals and sealings but other objects the function of which is not clear to me. As a general if clumsy term, I will refer to ‘*aprāmāda* artefacts’ or ‘*aprāmāda* objects’. In the same way, the mode writing differs, and will be referred to as ‘inscription’, ‘motto’, or ‘legend’.

I. APRAMĀDA INSCRIPTIONS FROM THAILAND, BURMA AND INDIA

*appamādo amatapadam, pamādo maccuno padam
appamattā na mīyanti ye pamattā yathā matā*

Dhammapada 21 (Appamāda-vagga, 1)¹

* I am grateful to Dr. Bunchar Pongpanit (Suthiratana Foundation and Buddhadasa Indapañño Archives) for supplying photographs of and information about the artefacts from Thailand; to Michael Willis (British Museum) for photographs and impressions of the seals from the Cunningham collection; to Sheila Hoey Middleton (Oxford) for photos of the (former) White collection artefacts; and to François Mandeville (Hong Kong) for recent photos of the items now in his collection. I thank Christophe Pottier (EFEQ, Bangkok) for his help with the interpretation of the objects and their function, and Surakarn Thoesomboon for help with bibliographic entry. I am grateful to Lilian Handlin and the librarians of Widener Library, Harvard University, for their prompt help in tracking down difficult-to-find articles, and to Mattia Salvini (Salaya) for fruitful discussions on the meaning of the enigmatic Sanskrit labels.

¹. ‘Awareness is the place of the deathless; unawareness is the place of death. The aware do not die; the unaware are as though dead already.’ Translation Valerie J. Roebuck, *The Dhammapada*, London: Penguin Books, 2010, p. 7.

One of the most fascinating, and the most challenging, groups of artefacts are those inscribed with a single four-*akṣara* word, *apramāda*, almost always in the nominative case.

I.1. Two *Apromāda* inscriptions from Central Thailand

In the middle of 2014, Mr. Kittisak Tontah (กิตติศักดิ์ โภนทะ) found an inscribed seal at Khu Bua in Ratchaburi province (คุบัว, จังหวัดราชบุรี), Thailand (figs. 1, 2).² He found it by the footpath that leads to Nong Kesorn (หนองเกส眷), on the west bank of the canal that runs through the centre of the ancient city, about 300 metres south of Wat Khlong Suwannaram (วัดโขลงสุวรรณาราม).³ The rectangular seal measures 3 x 2 x 0.6 cm. It is made of ivory which has blackened with age. The recto has an etched monolinear frame, within which is engraved, in reverse, the single Sanskrit word *apramāda*. The letters are long and elegant, and the ‘a’, the ‘pra’ and the ‘ma’ have long tails that turn back upward to form graceful loops. The back (fig. 3) is plain with several long scratches that run laterally the length of the seal. At each of the two upper corners there is a hole that runs from the side to the top edges (fig. 4), evidently to enable a string or cord to pass through. A straightforward conclusion is that the object was made to be suspended around the throat or arm, with the seal facing outwards. But it is, after all, a seal, written in reverse, and it is hard to determine what purpose this might have served. The holes are carefully bored, and would seem to have been done by a master carver from the beginning; they do not look as if they were done later by amateur carvers in order to appropriate a seal as an ornament. Needless to say, this is a subjective impression.

Earlier, in about 2008, an inscribed ivory object had been discovered in the same area by Mr. Ekasak Nilprapreut (เอกศักดิ์ นิลประพุท). It measures 2.8 x 1.2 x 0.2 cm. Both sides are engraved. One side (fig. 5) has four letters that read *apramādah*. The second side (fig. 6) has a ‘vase of plenty,’ the ancient Indian symbol of fertility and prosperity.⁴ This piece has no holes, and is two-sided. That is, it is not likely that it was meant to be suspended or worn.

Khu Bua is one of the important urbanized cultural complexes of early central Thailand;

² For Khu Bua, see Phatcharin Sukpramun, “La ville ancienne de Khu Bua,” in Pierre Baptiste et Thierry Zéphir (ed.), *Dvāravatī – aux sources du bouddhisme en Thaïlande*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Établissement Public du Musée des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, 2009, pp. 193–197. For examples of the masterful stucco work that decorated stūpas and other structures, see *ibid.*, Cat. Nos. 83–110.

³ This is in about the centre of the ancient walled and moated city: see map of Khu Bua in Baptiste and Zéphir, *Dvāravatī*, Fig. 5, p. 40.

⁴ See Prithivi Kumar Agrawala, *Pūrṇa Kalaśa or the Vase of Plenty*, Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1965 (repr. 1985). For seals with the *pūrnaghāṭa*, see, for example, Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan (4th Century BC–11th Century AD), Local, Indian, Sasanian, Graeco-Persian, Sogdian, Roman*, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale/Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, 1997, Cat. Nos. 3.17, 7.58, A and 7.59, A. The tin *apramāda* pendants from Oc-Eo have an eight-pronged double *vajra* on the verso (that is, a *vajra* with three of the prongs visibly depicted): see Louis Malleret, *L’archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient (Publications de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient Volume XLIII), II, *La civilisation matérielle d’Oc-Éo* (Texte, Planches, 1960), Pl. CIX, 6, 8, 10.

it belongs to an area or period that we conventionally call ‘Dvāravātī’.⁵ The architectural remains, especially the stucco that decorated the many brick structures, reveal a prosperous and refined society. The style of the script on the two artefacts is very close; it is a calligraphic ‘Southeast Asian Brāhmī’,⁶ strongly resembling that used in the stone epigraphs of Dvāravatī Thailand. The two objects were not found in any context, and therefore are difficult to date. One may cautiously, and broadly, suggest the fifth to sixth century.⁷

I.2. An *Apramāda* inscription from Burma

A single *aprāmāda* inscription has been reported from Burma (fig. 7).⁸ It is part of a collection that was amassed by Tom and Danielle White during a diplomatic posting in Burma between 1985 and 1989; at present the collection belongs to François Mandeville (Hong Kong). Middleton’s catalogue of the White collection describes ‘about ninety five intaglios, five cameos, twenty five stamp-seals, fifteen rings (two set with intaglios) and a number of miscellaneous objects all of which are said to have come from Pyu sites in Burma.’ They ‘were mostly acquired in Rangoon. Unfortunately no more details of provenance are known.’⁹

The *aprāmāda* inscription is described as a ‘glass tabloid, bright blue-green with gold inlay’. It measures 16 x 9.5 x 3 mm. ‘The glass was analysed by XRF and its composition was found to be consistent with ancient glass’. The Sanskrit inscription is described as ‘in the Deccan style of the 4th–5th century derived from the Brahmi script of the early Guptas – but in a version influenced by handwriting. The square head marks of the letters are also found in Vākāṭaka inscriptions.’ In general, it is close to Southeast Asian Brāhmī.

The function of the small object is not clear. It is a positive inscription and not a seal, and it is probable that it was set in a ring or amulet. Indeed, at present it has been mounted in a gold ring (fig. 8).

Two other inscribed objects in the White collection read *nanditavyam* (fig. 9) and *jīvadayā* (fig. 10).¹⁰ Both are engraved on long ovals. The former is a negative, described as ‘sardonyx (layered agate) ringstone; dark brown with several alternating thin layers of white’. Measuring 16.5 x 12 x 4.5 mm, it shows slight signs of wear on the face.¹¹ The second object

⁵. For the problem of Dvāravatī in historical studies see Peter Skilling, “Dvāravatī: Recent Revelations and Research,” in *Dedications to Her Royal Highness Princess Galyani Vadhana Krom Luang Naradhiwas Rajanagarindra on her 80th birthday*, Bangkok: The Siam Society, pp. 87–112.

⁶. The old classifications of Southeast Asian scripts are, from various perspectives, unsatisfactory. For what has commonly been called the ‘Pallava script’ (ອັກຂຽມລາວ), I use here ‘Southeast Asian Brāhmī.’ This script broadly resembles what in Indian epigraphy is usually called ‘Southern Brāhmī’.

⁷. The two seals are preserved in the collection of the Suthiratana Foundation, Bangkok.

⁸. Sheila E. Hoey Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings and Related Objects from Burma and Java: The White Collection and a further small private collection* (BAR International Series 1405), Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005, Cat. no. 62, p. 92, and Colour Pl. II 62.

⁹. Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, p. 1.

¹⁰. Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, Cat. Nos. 60, 61.

¹¹. Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, Cat. No. 60, p. 90; Colour Pl. II 60.

is an ‘agate (layered) ringstone; a thin white opaque layer on numerous thin opaque golden yellowish-brown layers of different shades’. It measures 17 x 15 x 4 mm; the intaglio face measures 13.5 x 11 mm. It is in very good condition. The Sanskrit inscription reads *jīvadaya*.¹²

Another collection of intaglios and seals and other objects from Burma was acquired soon after the White collection in the early 1990s. It is said to have been purchased as a single lot from either a collector or a dealer in Prome.¹³ One of these objects, which is now in the Mandeville Collection, reads *dayādānam*, ‘gift from or out of compassion’ (fig. 11). It is a cornelian, with reverse lettering. It measures 14.5 x 12 x 4.5 mm overall. The intaglio face measures 11 x 9 mm.¹⁴ In Burma the same inscription is found on an intaglio from Halin and an intaglio from Vesali in Arakan (fig. 12).¹⁵ Another found at Oc-Eo has a similar script.¹⁶

I.3. Two *Apramāda* seals in the British Museum, Cunningham collection

The Cunningham collection of the British Museum possesses two *aprāmāda* seals. BM 1892, 1103.126 (fig. 13) is a ‘flat oval seal of carnelian,’ measuring 11 x 9 mm. BM 1892, 1103.127 (fig. 14) is an ‘oval seal of carnelian, scaraboid in shape,’ and has the same dimensions as the preceding.¹⁷ There is no information about the provenance of the seals; ‘1892’ only indicates the year that the seals arrived at the British Museum. Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893), British pioneer of colonial Indian archaeology, collected objects throughout his years in India, and bought items of interest in the market as they turned up.¹⁸ Thus they could have come from anywhere. Both are seals, and the letters are written in reverse. The script resembles that used in Vākātaka records, and points to a possible central Indian origin.

I.4. *Apramāda* inscriptions from Oc-Eo in the Mekong delta

The other *aprāmāda* inscriptions published to date are from Oc-Eo in the Mekong delta, Vietnam, where Louis Malleret conducted excavations from 1938 to 1945. Malleret’s meticulous report of the results of his excavations, the seven-volume ‘Archaeology of the

^{12.} Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, Cat. No. 61, p. 91; Colour Pl. II 61.

^{13.} Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, p. 148.

^{14.} Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, App. 23, p. 159. The reading is doubtful, but it is difficult to confirm because the letters are very fine.

^{15.} For Arakan, see Pamela Gutman, *Burma’s Lost Kingdom: Splendours of Arakan*, Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2001, p. 7, fig. 4.

^{16.} George Coedès, “Fouilles en Cochinchine: le site de Go Oc Eo, ancien port du royaume de Funan”[Excavations in Indochina: the site of Go Oc Eo, the ancient port of the Kingdom of Funan], *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1947), pp. 193–199: Pl. D 1, bottom right. Louis Malleret, “Aperçu de la glyptique d’Oc-Éo,” *BEFEO* XLIV, 1, p. 199 and Pl. L, 13, 14; Malleret, *L’archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Tome troisième, Texte, p. 291, No. 1262; Planches, Pl. LXIII, 4, 5; LXIV, 10, 11.

^{17.} These are reported in Dikshit, “Cunningham Collection of Seals in the British Museum,” *JNSI* XXII (1960), pp. 123–130 and Pls. V–VI, 20–21. I regret that a photograph of 1103.127 is not available.

^{18.} So, for example, the famous ‘Oxus Treasure’, a collection of about 170 objects, dating mainly from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, the time of the Achaemenid empire, some of which were acquired by Cunningham in Rawalpindi or Peshawar about 1880.

Mekong River Delta', is one of the monuments of French colonial archaeology.¹⁹ In the course of his work, Malleret found and reported several types of object bearing the legend *apramāda*.²⁰ The inscriptions were read and translated by George Cœdès.²¹ I will present these in Part 2 of this article.

I.5. *Apramāda* seals from northern India

In addition to the two unprovenanced *apramāda* seals from the Cunningham collection, *apramāda* seals and seal-impressions have been recorded in India, mostly in the north but also in central and eastern India.²² They were recovered from excavations at the sites of Kasia,²³ Sarnath,²⁴ and Nalanda²⁵ during the colonial period, and later from Mahurjhari or Mahurzari in Maharashtra (Dist. Nagpur)²⁶ and Ratnagiri in Orissa.²⁷ Mahurzari and the neighbouring (probably originally contiguous) Junapani probably have ‘the largest number of stone circles in India’.²⁸ Numerous early historic antiquities, including seals and intaglios, were recovered and reported in 1933, but their exact find spots are not clear. The abundant number of beads led to the hypothesis that it was a bead-making centre. The artefacts included a seal reading *apumāda* or *apramāda*.²⁹

The seals from India have been found in different contexts, some at Buddhist sites, and most seem to be centuries later than the objects studied here, up to the eleventh century. They are generally not well reported or illustrated. For this reason, we leave them for Part 2 of this article, when, I hope, we will have better documentation.

^{19.} Louis Malleret, *L'Archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, Volume XLIII, 7 tomes, Paris, 1959–1963.

^{20.} Louis Malleret (1901–1970) came to Indochina in 1929. He became a member of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in 1942, and was Director of the École from 1949 to 1956.

^{21.} Cœdès, “Fouilles en Cochinchine,” pp. 193–199. George Cœdès (1886–1969) scarcely needs any introduction: the grand man of European studies of Southeast Asian history and archaeology, especially of Cambodia and Thailand, he was Director of the École française d'Extrême-Orient from 1929 to 1946.

^{22.} I have benefited here from Thaplyal's detailed study: Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals. A Study of North Indian Seals and Sealings from circa Third Century B.C. to Mid-Seventh Century A.D.*, Lucknow: Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, 1972, p. 326.

^{23.} ARASI 1905–06; ARASI 1906–07.

^{24.} Daya Ram Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, repr. Delhi: Indological Book House, 1972, p. 313, No. F(d) 54.

^{25.} Hiranand Sastri, *Nalanda and Its Epigraphic Material* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 66), [1942] 1999, p. 59, No. 17.

^{26.} M.M.V.V. Mirashi, “Some Seal-stamps from the Central Provinces,” *JNSI* III, pp. 99–100, and Fig. 1. I owe the reference to Thaplyal, p. 326, and I thank Lilian Handlin and Barbara A. Burg (librarian, Widener Library, Harvard University) for their prompt help in tracking down and sending the article. For Mahurjhari or Mahurzari see Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *Mahurjhari Excavation (1970–72)*, Nagpur: Nagpur University, 1973, and idem in A. Ghosh, *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research/Munshiram Manoharlal, 1989, Vol. II, pp. 268–269.

^{27.} Devala Mitra, *Ratnagiri (1958–61)* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 80), Vol. II, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1983.

^{28.} S.B. Deo in Ghosh, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 268.

^{29.} A detailed account of these antiquities was published by G.A.P. Hunter in the *Annual of the Sāradāśrama*, an institution located at Yeomal in Vidarbha. This is not accessible to me, and unfortunately no published photos of the seal are known to me.

II. BHAKTAVYAM AND DHARMAKARTAVYAM:
INSCRIBED TOKENS FROM THE MALAY PENINSULA

*dhammam care sucaritam, na nam duccaritam care
dhammacārī sukham seti asmiñ loke paramhi ca*

Dhammapada 169 (Loka-vagga 3)³⁰

Two inscribed artefacts were retrieved by villagers at Ban Triam, Khuraburi District, Phang Nga Province (บ้านเตรียม, อำเภอครุฑบุรี, จังหวัดพังงา) in the western Malay peninsula (figs. 15, 16). The villagers report that the objects were collected along with stone and glass beads at a hill on the Triam River (แม่น้ำเตรียม) along the Southern Phetkasem Highway, around 14 km. north of the Khuraburi district seat. They are engraved within distinct borders on carnelian that, as a result of being heated, turned into a greyish stone.³¹ They are written in the same script, with elegant broad letters with square heads.

The smaller piece is about 15 mm long, and reads *bhaktavyam*, ‘one should be devoted’ (fig. 15). Seals with this motto have been found elsewhere in the region, at Oc-Eo, where two *bhaktavyam* seals were found.³² The larger piece from Ban Triam, about 17 mm in length, reads *dharmakartavyam*, ‘Dharma is to be observed,’ ‘Act with justice,’ ‘May duty be done’³³ (fig. 16). This label is known from India: two ‘magnetic bronze ring seals’ and one ‘bronze ring seal’ in the Aman Ur Rahman collection bear the same motto.³⁴ They are by no means identical. Cat. No. 16.01.38 measures 21 x 12 x 16 mm; the first letter is missing, but it reads either (*dhar*)*ma-* or (*dha*)*ma-katavya* in Prakrit. Cat. No. 16.01.37 measures 27 x 16 x 10 mm; it is completely preserved, and reads *dharmakartavya*. Cat. No. 16.01.44 measures 17 x 24 x 22 mm. It reads *rdhamakartavya* for *dharmakartavya*.³⁵ Falk translates the motto as ‘the law must be practised.’

The phrase is also reported on a terracotta seal in the Indian Museum, Kolkata, and on a

³⁰. ‘You should practice the Dhamma well, not practice it badly. One who practices the Dhamma sleeps happily, in this world and the next.’ Translated Roebuck, *The Dhammapada*, p. 35.

³¹. Prof. Chawalit Khaokhiew (ชาวลิต เข้าเชี่ยว), Dean, Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University, Bangkok, as reported to Bunchar Pongpanich, 9 February 2015. The artefacts are undergoing further tests.

³². Malleret, *L’Archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Vol. 3, *La culture du Fou-nan*, Texte, Nos. 1255 (Pls. LXII and LXIV, 6); 1256 (Pls. LXII and LXIV, 5). Notes with hand-copy in Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, Fig. 18, B.1.

³³. The polysemy of Dharma and the lack of context preclude any definitive understanding or translation. We need to take into account the fact that single-word passive participle mottos are relatively frequent on seals across India and into Southeast Asia: *bhaktavyam* as here, and also *dātavyam*, *yaṣṭavyam*, *nanditavyam*, etc. (None of the inscribed seals or sealings studied by Riccardo Garbini, ‘The Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī Inscriptions’, in Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the North-West*, pp. 279–306, have any future passive participle legends, most of the inscriptions being genitive possessives.)

³⁴. Rahman and Falk, *Seals, Sealings and Tokens from Gandhāra*, p. 173. The significance of the distinction between ‘magnetic bronze’ and ‘bronze’ is not clear to me.

³⁵. See Rahman and Falk, *Seals, Sealings and Tokens*, Commentary § 4.2(1) and 4.2(4) for the engraving error. I do not reproduce Falk’s word break (*dharma kartavya*, etc., in all cases), which seems unjustified.

seal in the Allahabad Museum,³⁶ as well as on six sealings from Sunet (Dist. Ludhiana, Punjab).³⁷ Sunet seems to have been an extremely important early historical site, but its passage into the modern era has been tragic. It was already being plundered when Alexander Cunningham visited in 1878–79; he reported that large bricks had been found and reused in such quantities that ‘the Railway contractor obtained ballast sufficient for 18 miles of the Railway’, and that ‘the fort of Ludiana is said to have been built with them.’³⁸ Cunningham found upwards of one thousand coins, from the Indo-Greek period onward.³⁹ A century later, excavations conducted in 1983 to 84 uncovered numerous inscribed seals, sealings, coins, and coin moulds, but they were not followed up, and the site has now degraded.⁴⁰ Sunet ‘lay on the trade route that connected Taxila with middle Gangetic valley ... It was successively the capital of an independent state, came under the overlordship of the Indo-Greeks and later the Kuśanas.’⁴¹

Thaplyal classifies *dharma**kartavyam* under ‘non-sectarian mottos’. He points out that ‘the observance of dharma ... is held above everything else in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism’, and that it ‘forms the central theme of Aśokan edicts.’⁴² In the case of the Ban Triam artefacts, there is no context, and the script appear to be foreign and to belong to the western Indian family. Buddhist usage prefers the root \sqrt{car} with Dharma, rather than \sqrt{kar} .

III. BRAHASPATIŚARMA THE MARINER: A GOLD SEAL FROM BANG KLUAY NOK, THAILAND

A gold seal in the Suthiratana Foundation collection comes from Bang Kluay Nok in Ranong

^{36.} Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, p. 327. For the Kolkata and Allahabad seals see his Pl. XXVIII, 3a and 3b and 1a and 1b, respectively.

^{37.} Thaplyal, loc. cit. The Sunet sealings are reported by J. Agrawal in *JNSI* XIX, pp. 71–72 (not seen). Thaplyal 1972, p. 328, and pl. XXVIII, 5 (Indian Museum Nos. A11463-NS9124 and A11462-NS9130).

^{38.} If he means by this the original construction of the fort by the Lodi kings, who reigned in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, then the looting goes back a long way indeed. This is not impossible, or even unlikely.

^{39.} Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878–79*, Archaeological Survey of India Vol. XIV, [1882], repr. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2000, ‘Sunit’, pp. 65–67.

^{40.} IAR 1983–84, 67–70 and pls. 46–50. The website Ludhianadistrict.com (accessed 24 December 2014) carries an undated report from *The Tribune*, attributed to Jupinderjit Singh: Sunet village comprising of ancient mounds, some of which were excavated, is, sadly, passing into oblivion. Apathetic attitude of the residents and continuous ignorance of the place by the Department of Archaeology and Conservation, Punjab, has left it look like an eyesore to the surroundings. Only a junk-eaten board of the department around a large mound behind a gurdwara in BRS Nagar [Bhai Randhir Singh Nagar] declares it as a protected monument and a barbed wire has been laid around the mound to protect it! People throw garbage and litter over the barbed wire and pay tributes to the rich past of the abandoned place! See also Dilip K. Chakrabarti and Sukhdev Saini, *The Problem of the Sarasvati River and Notes on the Archaeological Geography of Haryana and Indian Punjab*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2009, p. 246, ‘the ancient site is now almost destroyed by a modern housing colony in the outskirts of Ludhiana – only a small portion of the mound is now preserved within a park’.

^{41.} Seema Bawa, *Gods, Men and Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Indian Art*, New Delhi: DK Printworld, 2013, p. 393.

^{42.} For Asoka’s Dharma, see Alf Hiltebeitel’s handy (xiii + 188 pp.) *Dharma*, Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010, especially Chap. 2; or the same author’s massive (xvii + 747 pp.) *Dharma: Its Early History in Law, Religion, and Narrative*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, especially Chap. 2). For the vast topic of Dharma in general, see Hiltebeitel’s books and the nineteen essays in Patrick Olivelle (ed.), *Dharma: Studies in its Semantic, Cultural and Religious History*, Delhi: Motilal BanarsiDass Publishers Private Limited, 2004.

Province (บางกล้ำยนок, จังหวัดระนอง), along the western coast of the central Malay peninsula (figs. 17, 18).⁴³ It bears a Prakrit legend, written in a circle from right to left, starting at 3 o'clock: *brahaspatiśarmasa nāvikasa*, ‘of the mariner Brahaspati’.⁴⁴ At the centre of the composition is what might be interpreted as an ‘auspicious seat’ or ‘auspicious throne’, *bhadrāsana* or *bhadrapīṭha*, in a linear ‘*damaru*’ or ‘hourglass’ profile, similar to that in Jaina representations of the eight auspicious things (*aṣṭa-maṅgala*), in Buddhist symbols of the feet of the Buddha (*buddha-pāda*), or on coins from Southeast Asia.⁴⁵ This is the second reference to a mariner (*nāvika*) to be found in Southeast Asia, after the celebrated Buddhagupta Mahānāvika whose name is inscribed on a stone slab from Kedah, published as long ago as 1835, and now kept in the Indian Museum, Kolkata.⁴⁶ Another *mahānāvika* inscription, that of the wife of the ‘Great Mariner Sivaka’ from Ghanṭāśāla, Andhra Pradesh, has been known for over sixty years,⁴⁷ and a ‘*mahānāvika*, a resident of Mahānāgaparvata’, is mentioned in an inscription from the Buddhist site of Guntuppalli, also on the Andhra coast of the Indian Ocean.⁴⁸ At Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka, a Prakrit Brāhmī inscription on a rock

⁴³. For Bang Kluay, see Bunchar Pongpanich, *Roi lukpat/Beyond Beads*, Bangkok: Matichon Publishing House, 2552 [2009], pp. 162–175 [บัญชา พงษ์พาณิช, รอยลูกปัด/Beyond Beads, กรุงเทพฯ : ส้านักพิมพ์มีชัน, 2552; หน้า 162–175] For the seal see pp. 174–175. See also Bellina et al., ‘The Early Development of Coastal Polities in the Upper Thai-Malay Peninsula’, in Nicolas Revire and Stephen A. Murphy (ed.), *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology*, Bangkok: River Books/The Siam Society, 2014, 84 and Fig. 7 (full article, pp. 69–89). Earlier discoveries of seals in the South are presented in numerous entries in the ‘Encyclopaedia of Thai Culture: The South’ (in Thai), for example, Kongkaew Veeraprajak, ‘Tra-pratap: thi phop nai phak-tai’ [Seals found in the South], in *Saranukrom watthana-tham thai phak-tai* [Encyclopaedia of Thai Culture: The South], Vol. 5, Bangkok: Munlanithi Saranukrom watthana-tham thai Thanakhan Thaiphanit, 2542, pp. 2505–2511. [ก่องแก้ว วีระประจักษ์, “ตราประทับที่พบในภาคใต้” ใน สารานุกรมวัฒนธรรมไทย ภาคใต้, เล่ม 5, กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิสารานุกรมวัฒนธรรมไทย ธนาคารไทยพาณิชย์, 2542; หน้า 2505–2511] More recently, see Boonyarat Chaisawan and Rarai Naiyawat, *Thung Tuk: Muang tha kan kha boran* [Thung Tuk, Ancient Entrepôt], Phuket: Fine Arts Department 15/Bangkok: Samnakphim Samaphan Chamkat, [Thai] Buddhist Era 2550 [2007] [บุณยฤทธิ์ ฉายสุวรรณ และ เรไร นัยวัฒน์ (เรียบเรียง), ทุ่งตึก: เมืองท่าการค้าโบราณ, ภูเก็ต: สำนักศิลปากรที่ 15 ภูเก็ต / กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์スマแพนธ์ จำกัด, 2550]; Boonyarat Chaisawan and Rarai Naiyawat, *Thung Tuk: A Settlement Linking Together the Maritime Silk Route*, with English translation by Pajrapong Na Pombejra (Songkhla: Phangnga Province and The Fine Arts Department of Thailand/Trio Creation, 2009) [บุณยฤทธิ์ ฉายสุวรรณ และ เรไร นัยวัฒน์ (เรียบเรียง), ทุ่งตึก: จุดเชื่อมโยงเส้นทางสายไหมทางทะเล, สงขลา: จังหวัดพัจฉา่วร่วมกับศิลปากร/Trio Creation, 2552]; Phuthorn Bhumadhara et al., *Pathomabot phra phutthasatsana nai phak tai prathet thai: lak tham lae lakthan boranakhadi* [Beginnings of Buddhism in South Thailand: Principles of Dhamma and Archaeological Evidence], Mahawithayalai Ratchaphat Nakhon Si Thammarat [Rajabhat University, Nakhon Si Thammarat], Nakhon Si Thammarat 2557 [2014]. [ภูธร ภุมะธน, ไฟโรจน์ ลึงบัน และ บัญชา พงษ์พาณิช (บรรณาธิการ), ปฐมบทพุทธศาสนาในภาคใต้ประเทศไทย: หลักธรรมและหลักฐานโบราณคดี, นครศรีธรรมราช: ไทย พринติง จำกัด, 2557] These are all in Thai. For further English articles, see for example Revire and Murphy, *Before Siam*.

⁴⁴. I am grateful to Oskar von Hinüber for his assistance in reading this.

⁴⁵. Malleret, *L'Archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Vol. 3, Plates, Pl. XLVI, right column (from Hmawza, Burma).

⁴⁶. See P. Skilling, “An Untraced Buddhist Verse Inscription from (Pen)insular Southeast Asia,” in D. Christian Lammerts (ed.), *Buddhist Dynamics in Premodern and Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies), forthcoming, 2015, with reference to earlier literature.

⁴⁷. *EI* XXVII, 1947–48, Delhi, 1956, no. 1, inscription E, line 1: *mahānavika sivaka* (Tsukamoto II Ghanṭāśāla 5, pp. 299–300. Cf. *EI* p. 2, and p. 2, n. 3 for *mahānāikan*, a possible parallel from early Tamil literature.

⁴⁸. I.K. Sarma, *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments and Brāhmī Inscriptions of Āndhra Dēśa*, Nagpur: Dattsons, 1988, pp. 73–73 and Pl. 22. First reported in I.K. Sarma, “Epigraphical Discoveries at Guntuppalli,” *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* V (1978), pp. 50–56 (not seen); also mentioned in B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, N.S. Ramachandra Murthy, B. Subrahmanyam, and E. Sivanagi Reddy, *Buddhist Inscriptions of Andhradesa*,

boulder in the Abhayagiri area refers to seats (*aśana*) in the ‘terrace of the Tamil house-holders caused to be made by the Tamil Samaṇa of Ilubarata’ by the names of what are, presumably, the donors. One is ‘the seat of Kārava, the mariner.’⁴⁹ At Āṇḍiyāgala, also in Anuradhapura, there is a donative inscription recording ‘The steps [donated by] the mariner from Bhojakāta.’⁵⁰ We do not know the location of Bhojakāta, but it is possible that donors at Bharhut – one a male called Agirakhita (Agnirakṣita), who gifted a rail around the stūpa, the other a nun named Diganagā (Diññagā), who sponsored an architectural element, a rail or a pillar – hailed from the same place as the mariner who left his names at Anurādhapura.

Paranavitana interprets *navaka* as mariner in two other early inscriptions: the Tumbullegala Rock-inscription, he places in the reign of Bhātika Tissa (‘circa 19 B.C. to 9 A.D.’),⁵¹ and the Perimiyankulama rock-inscription of Vasabha, which he dates to the first century CE.⁵² Whether these can be counted as *nāvika* instead of *navaka* is problematic, given the absence of any contextual indications.

Along the sea route, far to the north and the west of Laṅkādvīpa, three *nāvika* left records of their names as graffiti written in Brāhmī script deep in the Hoq cave on the island of Socotra (belonging to present-day Yemen) in the Indian Ocean at the mouth of the Red Sea.⁵³ These were ‘Skandhabhūti *naviko*,’⁵⁴ the ‘*nāvika* Viṣṇusena from Bhārukaccha’ (Broach), who left his name several times,⁵⁵ and ‘*nāvika* Humiyakaputra.’⁵⁶

The term *nāvika* occurs in Pali in a variety of narrative contexts in the *Jātakā-athavannanā*,⁵⁷ in other Buddhist texts like the *Avadānaśataka*,⁵⁸ and in lexicons like the

Secunderabad: Ananda Buddha Vihara Trust, 1998, p. 110.

⁴⁹. S. Paranavitana, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Volume I, *Containing Cave Inscriptions from 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.C. and Other Inscriptions in the early Early Brāhmī Script*, Department of Archaeology Ceylon, 1970, No. 94 (ref. made to JRASCB, Vol. XXXV, pp. 54–56: not seen). This and the following inscription came to my attention in Osmund Bopearachchi, “Sri Lanka and Maritime Trade: Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as Protector of Mariners,” in Upinder Singh and Parul Pandya Dhar (ed.), *Asian Encounters: Exploring Connected Histories*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 163 and p. 182, n. 4.

⁵⁰. *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Volume I, No. 105, *Bhojakātakasa nāvikasa padagaḍini*. As Paranavitana notes, two donors at Bharhut are called ‘Bhoja-kaṭaka’: see Heinrich Lüders (ed.), *Bharhut Inscriptions*, revised by E. Waldschmidt and M.A. Mehendale, Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, [1963] 1998 (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part II), A 23–24, pp. 22–23. For reasons that do not convince me, Paranavitana decides that Bhojakāta cannot be the donor’s place of origin, and translates the record as ‘the steps of the mariner (travelling to) to Bhojakāta’.

⁵¹. S. Paranavitana, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Volume II, Part I, *Containing Rock and Other Inscriptions from the Reign of Kuṭakaṇṇa Abhaya (41 B.C.–19 B.C.) to Bhātiya II (140–164 A.D.)*, Department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka, 1983, No. 11, pp. 12–14.

⁵². Paranavitana, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Volume II, Part I, No. 45, pp. 63–67.

⁵³. Ingo Strauch (ed.), *Foreign Sailors on Socotra: The inscriptions and drawings from the cave Hoq*, Bremen: Hempen Verlag, 2012 (Vergleichende Studien zu Antike und Orient, Band 3), § 6.1, pp. 90–92.

⁵⁴. Strauch, *Foreign Sailors on Socotra*, § 6.1.

⁵⁵. Strauch, *Foreign Sailors on Socotra*, §§ 10.4, 11.1, 11.11. § 11.1 has a symbol very much like that on Brahaspatiśarma’s seal.

⁵⁶. Strauch, *Foreign Sailors on Socotra*, § 14.15.

⁵⁷. For Pali references see Margaret Cone, *A Dictionary of Pali*, Part II, Bristol: The Pali Text Society, 2010, p. 531.

⁵⁸. See BHSD p. 355, s.v. *pauruseya*, where *nāvika* is one of the members of a ship’s crew (described as five, with only four enumerated, at *Avadānaśataka* I p. 200.5, II p. 61.5).

early ninth-century Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon *Mahāvyutpatti* and the *Amarakośa*.⁵⁹ At present, even in the light of the recent information cited here, Strauch's conclusion regarding the term still holds:

As this short – and incomplete – survey shows, it is hardly possible to get a more precise definition on the basis of the available material. Summarising the evidence from the lexicographical sources it seems that both terms – *nāvika* and [another related term] *niryāmika* – can be used to designate either the ‘captain’ or the ‘steersman’ of a ship.⁶⁰

Although it has been convenient to translate *Mahānāvika* as ‘master mariner’ or ‘captain,’ these are just expedients. We do not yet know exactly what the term denotes, and whether, in the different epigraphical contexts, it denoted the same position or profession. What is clear is that mariners plied the waters of South and Southeast Asia during an age of booming regional sea trade, and that some of them left their marks in far-flung places as ‘*nāvika*.’ One of these was Brahaspatiśarma, who left behind a rare gold seal.

IV. ENVOI

IV.1. Thoughts on *apramāda*

What are we to make of this enigmatic group, or class, of objects that are stamped or inscribed with the single word *apramāda*? Is there any connection between objects from early Southeast Asia and those of (mostly) later North India? This article is based on limited source materials, on only a sampling of what may be available. Small objects like seals, sealings, and tokens too often go unreported or are poorly reported, as in the case of those from Sunet and Mahurjhari. Too often reports have no photographs, and the objects are left to slumber in remote museums. I do not much doubt that other objects bearing the inscription *apramāda* have been discovered, or wait to be discovered.

Here we have a single word: *apramāda*. Is it a statement, an exhortation? Why then is it in the nominative case rather than the instrumental, *apramādena*, with a verb, as in the Buddha's last words (see below)? What is this word doing on these seals, seal impressions, and other artefacts? We know its lexical meanings, but what was its cultural function, its functional meaning? *Apramāda* refers to a core Buddhist value and practice, but it is also a significant virtue in both Jainism and Brahmanism. The two-line Prakrit Inscription B of the

^{59.} *Mahāvyutpatti* §§ 3850–55 lists six, giving the Tibetan equivalent *gru pa* ('boatman') for *nāvika* (§3850). Here *nāvika* seems to be a sailor, but the term can also be used for inland waterways and can also mean ferryman. *Amarakośa*, *karṇadhāras tu navikāḥ*, 1.10.12. For further literary and lexicographical references see Strauch, *Foreign Sailors on Socotra* 3.1.2, pp. 346–348; Dieter Schlingloff, “Ships and Seafaring,” in idem, *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings: Identifications and Interpretations*, Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1988, pp. 198–199. See Himanshu P. Ray, *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, [1994] 1998, pp. 36–40, for the organization of trade and the ‘hierarchy of commercial transactions that figures prominently in the epigraphical records.’

^{60.} Strauch, loc.cit.

Heliodorus *garuda* pillar at Besnagar, tentatively dated to the late second century BCE, states that ‘[These?] three steps to immortality, when correctly followed, lead to heaven: control, generosity, and care.’⁶¹ Salomon dates the inscription to the late second century BCE, with a question mark; even without the question mark, this must be the earliest epigraphic record of the term. The *Mahābhārata* gives self-control, renunciation, and *apramāda* as the essentials for obtaining *amṛta*⁶² — an idea that parallels the *Dhammapada* verse 21, cited at the beginning of this essay.

Mirashi states that the legend *apramāda* ‘was probably a Buddhist motto.’⁶³ He cites the ‘dying exhortation of the Buddha to his disciples’, *vayadhammā saṃkhārā, appamādena sampādetha*,⁶⁴ and refers to the existence of the chapter on *appamāda* in the *Dhammapada* (Chap. 2, *Appamāda-vagga*). It is scarcely necessary to cite further examples to prove that *apramāda* is indeed a core concept in Buddhist spiritual training. Does this make the *apramāda* artefacts Buddhist, or does the phrase have other meanings? For that we have to investigate their function, and for this we have little to go on.

Several of the findspots are important Buddhist monastic sites: Sarnath, Kasia, Nalanda, and Ratnagiri. Three of these sites go back to the time of the Buddha. Sarnath, where the Buddha first ‘turned the wheel of the Dharma’, became the Saddharmacakra-vihāra. Kasia, where the Buddha passed away, became the site of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-vihāra.⁶⁵ The village of Nalanda was the birthplace of Śāriputra, one of the Buddha’s foremost disciples; later it developed into a great Vihāra and centre of education. Ratnagiri as well was a Great Vihāra that flourished into the twelfth century.

One site, Mahurzar, has no evident Buddhist connections. It is a prehistoric site, but numerous historical period artefacts have also been found in the area, and there are other Buddhist sites in the region such as the Pauni stūpa. Even if *apramāda* artefacts have been found at some Buddhist sites, at others they have not. Seals have been found in some numbers at the Buddhist monastic sites Rājbādīdāngā (Dist. Murshidbad, West Bengal) and at Antichak (Vikramaśila-mahāvihāra, Dist. Bhagalpur, Bihar),⁶⁶ but none bear the label *apramāda* or the other labels discussed above. Nor have they been noticed at Mainamati in Bangladesh.

How do we define or conceptualize a ‘Buddhist site’? A monastic site was a locus, an entrepôt, for the creation and exchange of material culture, a channel for the passage of ideas and objects. It should be obvious that not all objects found at the monastic sites are Buddhist,

⁶¹. Noted at Thaplyal, 326, n. 11. See Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 265–267 (text *trini amutapād[ā]ni [i][me?] [su]januθitāni /neyaṇti sva[gaṇ] dam[e] cāga apramāda*). This short text is on the other side of the pillar from the celebrated inscription of the Indo-Greek ambassador Hēliodōros from Taxila.

⁶². Poona edition, V, 43, 14, *damas tyāgo'pramādaś ca eteṣv āmṛtam āhitam*, cited in Thaplyal, p. 326, n. 12. See also XI, 7.20 *damas tyāgo'pramādaś ca te trayo brahmaṇo hayāḥ*, and references to *Mahābhārata* at Salomon, p. 267.

⁶³. ‘Some seal-stamps’, pp. 99–100.

⁶⁴. This is from the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, Dīghanikāya* (Pali Text Society edition) II, p. 156.1.

⁶⁵. For this Vihāra and its seals, see Thaplyal, *Studies*, pp. 210–212.

⁶⁶. Sudhir Ranjan Das, *Rājbādīdāngā: 1962*, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1968, pp. 51–67, 69–73 and pls. I–VI; B.S. Verma, *Antichak Excavations – 2 (1971–1981)*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India 2011 (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 102), Chap. VIII.

and, of course, shrines to Hindu and Jain deities are found within and near the Vihāras. Non-Buddhist narratives are also found,⁶⁷ and at sites like the great mediaeval stūpas of Bengal, the tiles depict a panoply of animals, birds, humans, and deities.

IV.2. Thoughts on small objects

The wide diffusion of the *apramāda* motto and of several of the others presented here, the variety of supports and the range of scripts with which they are associated, for over half millennium – all of these things pose many questions. These small objects join with other small artefacts, such as the intaglios and ringstones that bear images of deities, animals, and symbols, and have been found in large numbers throughout the region. At present we know too little about the cultural and historical significance of their circulation.

One of the most difficult questions is context and association. The small seals were meant to be portable. The inscribed mottos are found over a wide area, and were produced for hundreds of years. They are sometimes associated with other mottos, with which they bear no inherent ideological or semantic relation, forming a complex intertextual landscape that is not easy to negotiate. Although some of the inscribed objects are certainly seals, *mudrā*, and some are certainly impressions of seals (that is, they are *mudrāñkita*), others are independently crafted artefacts, and it is difficult to know what to call them. Both the seals and the tokens are often made of precious materials, and they are things of beauty.⁶⁸ Are they amulets, talismans, tokens, or reminders? Or are they simply ornaments?⁶⁹ We must face the fact that we do not know where, when, why, or by whom the objects were produced. Some are almost certainly imports that were ‘made in India’;⁷⁰ others, such as the *apramāda* artefacts from Khu Bua, are almost certainly the products of ‘local genius’. Even the imported objects raise more questions. If the inscribed artefacts are imports, that does not cancel the fact that they are widely spread in Southeast Asia: they must have circulated for good reasons. If they are copies, if they are imitations produced for the local market, or if they were produced by migrant Indian craftsmen, they are examples of the transfer of technology and ideas in antiquity. They are more than bits of the flotsam and jetsam of the

⁶⁷. See Monika Zin, “Non-Buddhist Narrative Scenes at Nagarjunakonda,” in Deborah Klumburg-Salter and Linda Lojda (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology and Art: Changing Forms and Cultural Identity: Religious and Secular Iconographies*, Vol. 1, Papers from the 20th conference of the European Association for South Asian Archaeology and Art held in Vienna from 4th to 9th of July 2010, Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, pp. 77–89.

⁶⁸. For literature on Indian seals in general, see Callieri (1997), Dani ([1963] 1986), Salomon (1998, 123–124), Sircar ([1965] 1996). For Sonkh, see Härtel (1993, 303–307). For seals from the Northwest, see Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the North-West* and Rahman and Falk, *Seals, Sealings and Tokens*. For seals from Thailand, see Kongkaew, ‘Tra-pratap: thi phop nai phak-tai’; Anant Klinphoklab. *Tra-pratap tra-pracham-tua lae khreuan-rang yuk-boran* [Seals, personal seals, and amulets in antiquity], Bangkok: Muang Boran, 2550 [2007].

⁶⁹. But there is nothing simple about ornaments, which go back to Harappan culture (see Jonathan M. Kenoyer, “Ornament Styles of the Indus Valley Tradition,” in Shonaleeka Kaul (ed.), *Cultural History of Early South Asia: A Reader*, Hyderabad, Orient BlackSwan, 2014, pp. 89–116) and earlier, and are rich in social meaning: see for example Vidya Dehejia, *The Body Adorned: Sacred and Profane in Indian Art*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

⁷⁰. But to say that something comes from ‘India’ tells us next to nothing about material, social or religious relations. I hope that sustained study will be able to precise (verb, as in French *préciser*) the idea of Indian origin.

centuries, and they deserve preservation, publication, and further study.

Abbreviations

<i>ARASI</i>	<i>Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India</i> (Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta)
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
<i>BHSD</i>	Franklin Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i>
<i>IAR</i>	<i>Indian Archaeology, A Review</i> (Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi)
<i>JNSI</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i>

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Note: Thai names are given by the first name, in accordance with Thai custom.

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Fig. 1: Ivory Apramāda seal from Khu Bua, front view.



Fig. 2: Ivory Apramāda seal from Khu Bua, inverted view.



Fig. 3: Ivory Apramāda seal from Khu Bua, verso.



Fig. 4. Ivory Apramāda seal from Khu Bua, angle view.



Fig. 5: Ivory Apramādah inscription from Khu Bua, recto.



Fig. 6: Ivory Apramādah inscription from Khu Bua, verso.



Photos 2014, courtesy Suthiratana Foundation.

PLATE 8

Fig. 7: *Apramāda* inscription, glass tabloid, from Burma.Fig. 8: *Apramāda*, set in gold ringFig. 9: *Nanditavyam*, sardonyx seal from Burma.

[inverted image of Fig. 9]

Fig. 10: *Jīvadāyā*, agate ringstone from Burma.

[inverted image of Fig. 10]

Fig. 11a: *Dayādānam* (?), cornelian intaglio from Burma.Fig. 11b: Impression of *Dayādānam*

Photos 2015, courtesy François Mandeville, Hong Kong.

Fig. 12: *Dayādānam*. Photo, courtesy Pamela Gutman.*[inverted image of Fig. 12]*Fig. 13a: *Apramāda* seal, Cunningham Collection, British Museum. BM 1892, 1103.126.Fig. 13b: Impression of *Apramāda* seal 1103.126.

Photos 2015, courtesy British Museum.

Fig. 14: Impression of *Apramāda* seal, BM 1103.127.

Photo 2015, courtesy British Museum.

Fig. 15: *Bhaktavyayam* inscription, from Ban Triam, Phang Nga, Thailand.Fig. 16: *Dharmakartavyayam* inscription, from Ban Triam, Phang Nga, Thailand.

Photos 2014, courtesy Suthiratana Foundation.

PLATE 10

Fig. 17: *Mahānāvika* seal, recto.



[inverted image of Fig. 17]



Fig. 18: *Mahānāvika* seal, verso.



Photos 2014, courtesy Suthiratana Foundation.